R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 020 401 VT 005 055

FAMILY PATTERNS AND SOCIAL CLASS. RESEARCH MONOGRAPH NO. 5 (PRELIMINARY DRAFT).

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PUB DATE JAN 67

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$3.20 78P.

DESCRIPTORS- *SOCIAL CLASS, *FAMILY STRUCTURE, *FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS, *FAMILY ATTITUDES, FAMILY MANAGEMENT, INTERVIEWS, FAMILY ENVIRONMENT, CULTURAL BACKGROUND, FAMILY INFLUENCE; DISADVANTAGED GROUPS,

THE PURPOSES OF THE STUDY WERE TO IDENTIFY THE UNDERLYING FACTORS WHICH CAN BE USED IN DESCRIBING THE LIVING PATTERNS OF YOUNG FAMILIES AND TO EXAMINE THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS AND FAMILY CLIMATE AND BETWEEN ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND FAMILY STRUCTURE. COMPREHENSIVE STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED WITH 600 YOUNG HOMEMAKERS SELECTED BY STRATIFIED RANDOM SAMPLING FROM PROTOTYPE COMMUNITIES. A QUESTIONNAIRE WAS COMPLETED BY THE HOMEMAKER AT TIME OF THE INTERVIEW, AND ONE WAS LEFT FOR THE HUSBAND TO FILL OUT. FINAL DATA WERE BASED ON 594 USABLE INTERVIEW RECORDS AND QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED BY 70 PERCENT OF THE HUSBANDS. THE CLASS DIVISIONS WERE BASED ON THOSE DEVELOPED IN A PRIOR STUDY. DEMOGRAPHICALLY, A POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP EXISTED BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS AND MARITAL STABILITY, LIMITATION OF FAMILY SIZE, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF SPOUSES, FAMILY INCOME AND HOME OWNERSHIP, THE HUSBAND'S HOURS OF WORK, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF UPWARD MOBILITY, CAUCASIAN ETHNIC BACKGROUND, AND PROTESTANT RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES. ETHNIC BACKGROUND WAS RELATED TO FAMILY STRUCTURE--NEGRO FAMILIES WERE LARGE AND HIGHLY UNSTABLE, BUT THE ORIENTAL FAMILY WAS SMALL AND HIGHLY STABLE. A POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP EXISTED BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS AND ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF FAMILY TASKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. BEHAVIOR PATTERNS OF THE FAMILY WERE RELATED TO SOCIAL CLASS. HIGHER CLASS FAMILIES COMMUNICATED, EMPATHIZED, AND ENCOUNTERED LESS CONFLICT THAN LOWER CLASS FAMILIES. VALUES AND ATTITUDES WERE RELATED TO SOCIAL CLASS. THE HIGHER THE SOCIAL CLASS THE MORE LIKELY IT WAS TO BE NONAUTHORITARIAN, NONTRADITIONAL, DEMOCRATIC, AND EQUALITARIAN. IT WOULD SEEM TENABLE THAT SOCIETY SHOULD CONCENTRATE ITS EFFORTS TOWARD MORE FULLY UNDERSTANDING THE LOWER-LOWER CLASS FAMILIES TO DETERMINE WAYS OF BREAKING THE ORGANIZATIONAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, AND IDEALOGICAL BARRIERS THAT PREVENT THESE FAMILIES FROM RISING TO OTHER SOCIAL LEVELS. (FP)

ED020401

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Research Monograph #5
(Preliminary Draft)

University of California
Davis, California

VT005055

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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FAMILY PATTERNS AND SOCIAL CLASS

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January, 1967

This study was supported by funds from the Bureau of Homemaking Education, State Department of Education, and by the Agricultural Experiment Station, University of California, Davis.

Table of Contents

		Page
Chapter I	Introduction	1
Chapter II	Social Class Distinctions.	5
Chapter III	Ethnic Determinants.	21
Chapter IV	Summary.	28
Appendix I	Development of the Instrument.	34
Appendix II	Sampling Procedures.	39
Appendix III	Analysis of the Prototype Communities.	41
Appendix IV	Tables and Figures	45
	Demographic Tables	
	Analysis of Profile Data	
	Profile Charts	
References		73

Chapter I

Introduction

It is within the family, the basic unit of society, that a child's personal security develops and the first learning takes place. The most important things a person learns are "taught" by the family in a process that may begin at an age as early as four weeks. For the first few years of a child's life the family is virtually his total world. Here he learns to relate to others and to love, and develops the habit patterns and attitudes which become the components of his personality. He learns "habits" of communication, empathy, humor, independence, and self-esteem. These habits and attitudes are in part a result of the climate pervading the family. Depending on the family climate, a child's wonder and curiosity--the need to know and understand his surroundings--may be thwarted or enhanced. His motivations, his desire for achievement, and his later success are related to his early home environment.

What happens to the child who steps out of the familial shadows of a lower-class or ghetto subculture into the more complex environment created by the middle-class expectations of the elementary teacher? What symbols and values, alien to his background, will he have to contend with? Will educators be able to understand this child, with their very limited knowledge of a family climate often dramatically unlike their own? Will they be able to adapt their white middle-class collar sufficiently to bring this child's individual potential to fruition?

Whether or not middle-class American values are or should be the determining values for the mass of children is, at this point, an academic issue. Helping individuals to realize their potential and providing adequate education for all youth are societal goals. These goals, for the full development of

every individual's potential of whatever class or sex, are stated in Plato's "Republic," and more recently in the writings of John Locke. They are among the basic premises of our democratic way of life. The uniqueness of the individual, however, is not accepted as important by all members of society, but is embodied primarily in the objectives of the middle- and upper-middle-class families. How well a society makes its values become reality will depend, at least in part, on the degree to which educational objectives pervade all facets of American society.

Programs in the areas of education, social welfare, public housing, civil rights, job opportunities, and community planning are receiving unprecedented amounts of money, time, and effort in an attempt to maintain and implement more of the "good life" for all citizens. At present, many questions can be raised about the effectiveness of the projects through which social change is being implemented. It is not easy, however, to arrive at answers to these questions. Methods have not yet been developed to identify and measure the organization or the psychological and ideological climates of the fundamental social unit, the family. Nor do we really understand what variety of family units or organizations may be "successful." Without such information, there is no way of optimizing the social and educational programs. For example, how much will preschool education and "headstart" programs help break the vicious cycle of poverty and the attitudes which perpetuate it? Can educators actually plan realistic programs for teaching the young from various segments of society without understanding the diversity of attitudes and living patterns, the limited goals and horizons of some, and the seemingly unlimited opportunities of others?

The specific purpose of this study is to identify the underlying factors which can be used in describing the living patterns of young families. This

report presents the nature of the study and the methodology used, and examines at length a major facet of the results: the relations between social class and family climate. Another aspect is also discussed: the relation of ethnic background to family structure.

"Climate," as used in this study, refers to the fundamental concepts and attitudes pervading the family unit. These attitudes and concepts of the family are subdivided into three distinct segments. The first is the organization and administration of family tasks and responsibilities. The second focuses on behavior patterns of family members which reflect the "psychological" climate of the family. The third encompasses family values and attitudes which reflect the "ideological" climate of the family.

The methods used for data collection included comprehensive structured interviews with 600 young homemakers from different prototype communities in the lower Sacramento Valley. These homemakers were selected via stratified random sampling, proportionally allocated by school district and representing all families in the selected communities having a child in the first grade. Limiting the population in this manner eliminated the newly married and the elderly, thus providing partial "control" of the stage within the family life-cycle.

The final data are based on 594 usable interview records from the 600 families. The remaining six were either incomplete or invalid, because of language barriers, etc. The homemakers also completed a questionnaire at the time of the interview. A second copy was left for the husband to fill out, and responses were obtained from 70 percent of the husbands in the household.

The items for the interview and questionnaire were prepared to delineate and measure the hypothesized climates. Within the context of the interview, items were developed to measure the demographic characteristics of the families.

The reliability coefficients of scales ranged from .54 to .86. (See Appendix I for scale development.)

The Prototype Communities

The study was made in four proximate communities selected for variation in size and structure (see Appendix III for detailed community descriptions). Chosen were a large metropolitan core area (Sacramento) and a small rural community (Winters). These two have a static population total. The other two communities studied are intermediary in size, and growing. Vacaville, the larger, is vitally affected by nearby Travis Air Force Base, and is burgeoning, the population having grown two and one-half times in the decade of the fifties. The kind of population currently attracted to it, however, is transient, being transferred regularly. Dixon, a rural community in transition, is smaller and growing more slowly, but is open to change.

All four communities have a full social-class composition from upper-middle to lower-lower class. Only six upper-class families were found among the 594 studied, constituting only one percent of the sample. (Those in the upper-class category amounted to 2.6 percent in Dixon.) This class obviously did not appear in sufficient numbers to warrant separate attention, so the data for the six are included with the upper-middle class.

Chapter II

Social Class Distinctions

A social class is, among other things, a means of transmitting certain cultural mores of families. Ease of acculturation--moving from one social class to another--is enhanced or impeded by the beliefs and behaviors that characterize the social class into which an individual is born. Barriers to social and cultural mobility are also imposed by the social class or micro-culture into which an individual is attempting to move. It is a part of the American ethos that it is a "good thing" to "rise" above one's parents and one's peers (1). An easy and objective way of realizing the ethos is jobs with higher "status" and pay. The goal of education--internalizing changes of behavior--is a much more difficult and pervasive task, however.

That certain cultural differences follow class lines has been well documented by individuals such as Hollingshead, Warner, Laswell, Davis, and Goode.

For example, Bossard and Boll (2) find that attitudes toward schooling are strong correlates to social class. A high positive orientation toward education is found for middle-class persons, and a negative orientation for lower-class persons. It is difficult for lower-class persons to connect their own educational experiences with the attainment of their personal goals, and they often have negative reinforcement during their early years of education. In contrast to upper- and upper-middle-class families, the lower classes do not send their children to preschool (3). Further, by the time these children start school, they already lack many cultural privileges so important to personality development. The resulting barriers to communication and interaction, feelings of inadequacy and sense of failure, and the inability to

adjust to a "foreign" set of cultural norms, combine to produce toward education a negative attitude which will probably be transmitted either actively or passively to the next generation (4).

Adjustment to environmental differences is related to the family climate in which the child is raised. For example, Sewell and Haller (5), in a study of factors in the relationship between social status and the personality adjustment of the child, found that middle-class children fare better than children of lower classes with respect to personal adjustment. This difference is related to the fact that the conflict between the family's and society's expectations is less for the middle-class child than for the lower-class child. Burchnell, Gardner, and Hawkes (6) found that children whose fathers were in the lowest occupational category were least adaptive as measured by Rogers' test of personality development. The most adaptive were children whose fathers were in the highest occupational category and children whose fathers were college graduates.

Our educational system has the dual effect of both aiding social mobility and hindering it. Students from family climates that foster well-adjusted personalities and that have ideologies reflecting society's ideologies experience little trouble with social mobility. In contrast, social mobility is not readily attainable by children reared in an environment with physical and psychological survival as prime constituents and an ideological climate in antithesis to the educational objectives of society.

This chapter describes differences in family patterns according to their social classification. The chapter is divided into four sections giving a "thumbnail" sketch of each class, ranging from upper-middle to lower-lower. The data from which these sketches are drawn were analyzed by methods

described in Appendix IV. Demographic tables and family profiles for the social classes are also found in Appendix IV.

This method of presentation provides "usable" information for both the practicing teacher and family-research personnel. Reference herein to the "average" family means the modal family studied when related to demographic characteristics and the "arithmetic" mean family studied when related to family climates.

Class Definitions

The class divisions used in the study were developed by W. Lloyd Warner (7) for his Index of Status Characteristics (ISC). The index is based on four categories, for which Warner has developed a weighted composite of the following characteristics: occupation, source of income, quality of housing, and social reputation of the residential neighborhood. In general, the upper-middle class of the young families studied belongs to the professional-semiprofessional occupational categories, such as doctors, ministers, accountants, and large businessmen. They are paid from profits, fees, salary, or commissions. Their net income ranges from $10,000 to $14,000 a year, incomes which would be higher if the study had not focused on a particularly youthful segment. Their dwelling area is residential with conventional housing, slightly larger than the demands of utility.

The lower-middle class is primarily in white-collar occupations--teachers, clerks, supervisors, salesmen, and small businessmen, with a modal annual income of $7,000 to $10,000, paid from salary and commissions. These families live in residential neighborhoods with no sign of deterioration. Housing is conventional, not landscaped, but with well-cared-for lawns.

The lower class is "blue collar," in jobs such as sales clerks, repairmen, carpenters, truck drivers, and practical nurses, with a modal income of

$5,000 to $7,000 a year. They live in below-average to average housing in areas that are not quite holding their own, beginning to deteriorate.

The lower-lower class is unskilled and spasmodically employed, with a modal income of $3,500 to $5,000 a year. Housing is run-down, with some residences in such deterioration that they cannot be repaired. The area is semi-slum and slum.

For each of these classes the living patterns are differentiated and are summarized in the sections that follow. The distribution of families in each social class is: upper-middle, 15 percent (N=91); lower-middle, 41 percent (N=245); lower, 38 percent (N=228); lower-lower, 6 percent (N=30).

The Upper-Middle-Class Family

The upper-middle-class families relfect the image created by the "Better Homes and Gardens" way of life. These families reflect the "American dream" for happiness, comfort, and lenty.

Nine out of ten of the upper-middle-class families interviewed are Caucasian, and nearly as many (85 percent) represent first-time marriages. Their marriage and families are thus characterized by stability, which is apparent in family planning, with 70 percent of them having no more than three children. Fifty-five percent of the husbands are college graduates, and 80 percent have some college education.

Nine out of ten upper-middle-class families are buying their own homes, and 70 percent make more than $10,000 a year. They are highly upward mobile, as shown by being a class above their parents' social status and in higher-level occupations. More than 90 percent of the husbands are in the professional or semiprofessional categories, while only 33 percent of their fathers were in similar categories. Nearly half (44 percent) of the husbands work 60 hours a week or more, while less than a quarter of them work the more

common 40-hour week. A large proportion are churchgoers: half of the wives attend at least once a week, with over 70 percent attending twice a month or more; husbands attend somewhat less frequently. These families are primarily Protestant, and a sizable portion (13 percent) profess no particular religion.

Organizational Structure. The wife takes almost complete responsibility for the decisions about household management, and also carries out the home-making tasks. She is more involved than the average housewife in decisions about the yard and automobile, and helps with the work in these areas, which are traditionally deemed male activities. This shared concern and activity may be the result of the husband's long work week--he is not there as often to work on the yard and car, and he carries problems of his job home with him at night. The wife's participation in yard work is also tied to her status image of the "Better Homes and Gardens" look in the external appearance of her home. Also more mutual than average in task allocation are the paying of bills, making financial arrangements, and budgeting.

In this upper-middle class the wife finds her husband more interested and concerned with the upbringing of their children than the majority of fathers studied. He helps with discipline and putting the children to bed, and he plays with them in his time off. His strong concern for his children is in line with the "American dream" that the children will eventually have more opportunity than the parents. He himself has had upward mobility, and this is often a potent factor in parental thinking of this class. Consequently, "investing" time in the children is important to these fathers.

The situations described above involve a partial fusing of the traditional male and female roles, probably reflecting increased education, which leads to a questioning of traditional values. It would seem that this group is more

interested in meeting the problems as they arise, rather than adhering strictly to traditional roles.

One other major family characteristic at the upper-middle-class level is the fact of better organization--"chores" are done at appointed times, so a general rhythm, or pattern, is established which allows time for leisure and other activities.

Psychological Climate. Communication between husband and wife is more important in this group than in any other. They plan times for communication, and they talk not only about mutual problems but about each other's as well. The wife has a great deal of interest in and knowledge of her husband's work. She is also especially sensitive to her husband's moods, choosing the "right" time to discuss touchy problems. The upper-middle-class husband is also responsive to his wife's state of mind. When successful, the marriage is happier than the average one, and satisfaction and empathy between spouses are high. In over 80 percent of the families, both husband and wife claimed to be happy in their marriage, though each tended to underestimate the other's happiness.

One-third of the upper-middle-class wives interviewed said that their most pressing problem was "family and community pressure and lack of time to get the job done." This seems to be a special characteristic of this group. Eight times as many of these women complained about pressure and lack of time as did the lower-lower-class housewife, even though the latter had more than twice as many children and fewer appliances to assist in household tasks. "Noisy, disorderly, and unruly children" bothered a third of the upper-middle-class women, but this was not at all a distinguishing factor of their group. In fact, nearly twice as many lower-lower-class women felt that this was their

most pressing problem. A less important, though interesting, fact emerged from the responses to the interviews. Of the upper-middle-class wives, 17 percent were primarily bothered by sensitivity to physical discomfort, while not one lower-lower-class housewife mentioned this problem, apparently accepting it as a part of her lot in life.

Ideological Climate. The upper-middle-class wife does not feel guilty about sharing responsibilities for the children with her husband. Household chores, however, such as working in the kitchen, are her domain. In both of these cases the inverse is true for the lower-class family. In more than 65 percent of the lower-lower-class families, the husband is accepted in the kitchen but the children are solely the wife's responsibility.

The upper-middle-class mother felt that the most important value was that of encouraging family members to develop their own abilities to the fullest. Her husband, on the other hand, placed greater value in having the family live according to good moral and religious principles. Both parents felt that happy children and a family filled with love and affection were the second-most important family values to achieve. The least important values were felt to be those of providing a respectable place in the community for their children, having them grow into good, responsible citizens, ensuring economic security, and increasing their standard of living. In essence, the values considered least important to these couples appear to be those they already possess.

The Lower-Middle-Class Family

The lower-middle-class families stand at the top of the common man's population as part of the "mainstream" of American society. The ethnic composition is different from that of the upper-middle class: a larger proportion is non-Caucasian, with 8.5 percent Negro and 7 percent Oriental.

Marriage is a little less stable and families larger in this class than in the upper-middle class; 82 percent of the couples are married for the first time, and slightly over 75 percent have three or more children. Almost half of the husbands have had a college experience, but 17 percent did not finish high school.

Eight out of ten lower-middle-class families are buying their own homes, and 30 percent earn more than $10,000 a year. The majority (63 percent) have an annual income of between $5,000 and $10,000. As in the upper-middle class, these families are mobile upward. Twenty-one percent are in the professional-semiprofessional group and 62 percent in the upper- and lower-white-collar classifications, while only 46 percent of their fathers are or were in the lower-white-collar category or above. Whereas nearly half (44 percent) of the upper-middle-class husbands work 60 hours a week or more, a similar number of the lower-middle class do not exceed a 40-hour week. Only one of them in five works more than 60 hours weekly.

This group also attends church, although not as rigorously as the upper-middle class; 40 percent of the wives attend at least once a week, and 60 percent attend twice a month or more. A quarter of the families are Catholic, and 70 percent are Protestant. In contrast to the upper-middle-class families, only 5 percent (compared to 13 percent) indicated no particular religious commitment.

Organizational Structure. The wife in the lower-middle-class family takes the initiative in deciding what is to be done in the house, but her husband helps her more and he also plans and works in the yard more than the upper-middle-class male. One reason for his greater participation in household tasks may be his more frequent presence at home, since he is

more likely to work a 40-hour week than his upper-middle-class counterpart. His role with the children is considerable, although the sharing of child discipline between husband and wife is less than in the other group. Tasks are slightly more divided, with the husband taking the role of the disciplinarian more. He also participates in his children's leisure-time activities and in putting them to bed.

In the area of finances, bill paying is the job of either the husband or the wife, with the husband taking a stronger role in deciding when it should be done. In large financial transactions, the husband tends to make the arrangements. These families are less organized and "scheduled" in their activities than the upper-middle class, and more than the lower class.

Psychological Climate. Companionship is a characteristic of the lower-middle-class marriage, although communication is somewhat less than in the upper-middle-class family. Empathy and satisfaction are factors in this marriage relationship, although the wife wishes for more time with her husband. Both are interested in the activities of the other. The wife is not as knowledgable about her husband's work as her husband is about her's in the house. Her major complaints are children and pressure to get the job done, and, unlike the upper-middle-class housewife, she is distressed about her inability to organize her household. Disorganization conflicts with her values of upward mobility, and she does not win this battle as easily as her better-organized counterpart in the upper-middle class. Happiness in marriage is slightly lower in this group; husband and wife find satisfaction in 70 percent of the marriages, and they are fairly accurate in their estimate of the "satisfaction" achieved by their partner.

Ideological Climate. Overall, the lower-middle class tends to be slightly more conventional in values. For instance, there is agreement

that the wife should care for the children and work in the kitchen, but the husband believes he should be helpful and fulfill his obligation. In this class, however, the male dominance role begins to emerge, and there is increased feeling that the husband should have more say in financial matters, major decisions, and child discipline.

Like her counterpart in the upper-middle class, the lower-middle-class mother wished most of all to encourage the individuality and potentials of her children; she wished next for them to be moral and upright. Happy children were the third requisite, followed by a desire for respect in the community and economic security or gain. Her husband, in general, shared this value pattern, except that he placed morality first and individual growth third.

The Lower-Class Family

Lower-class families--the working class of our society--strive for a "common man" level of recognition and respectability. Eighty-one percent of the lower-class families are Caucasian (14 percent of these are Mexican-American), 16 percent are Negro, and 3 percent are Oriental. This is the first marriage for 65 percent of the couples. Larger families are the rule, with one-half of them having at least four children. Over one-half of the husbands have not completed high school, with one-quarter of them leaving school before the ninth grade. About half (55 percent) of this group has an annual income of between $5,000 and $10,000, while a third (34 percent) makes less than $5,000. Only 11 percent make more than $10,000 a year. Eight out of ten (82 percent) of the husbands are in blue-collar jobs, while only 7 percent are in white-collar or professional occupations. The lower-class families do not show a consistent pattern in social mobility. Some of them are downward mobile, for 33 percent of their

fathers were white-collar or above (in contrast with the 7 percent of the younger generation). A smaller proportion (18 percent) have been markedly upward mobile, however, moving from their father's classification of unskilled into the blue-collar group. Six out of ten husbands work the standard 40-hour week, with 15 percent working 60 hours a week or more. Church attendance is less frequent in this group than in the higher social strata, and the denominational mix is different: 35 percent of the wives go to church weekly and 52 percent go at least twice a month; 30 percent of these families are Catholic, 64 percent are Protestant, and 6 percent profess no particular religion.

Organizational Structure. The husband's role at home is greater, both inside and outside the house, in the lower class than in the lower-middle class. He is more involved in deciding about the care of the house and in carrying out the tasks. He also has almost complete responsibility for working in the yard and has an important role in deciding what needs to be done and when. He is the disciplinarian of the children and decides about disciplinary matters. The wife, on the other hand, has other tasks: she puts the children to bed and helps them with "chores" such as homework. The husband is more authoritarian in financial decisions and most often pays the bills, although he sometimes delegates this task to his wife.

Psychological Climate. Isolation increases in the lower-class family; husbands and wives are not so regular in their time for visiting with each other, but the wife does not seem to mind this. Her children and her home are her prime interests; her world is considerably smaller. She cannot talk about her husband's work and has little interest in it, but the husband has a strong interest in the household and is very knowledgable about its workings. The home is their major topic of conversation. Empathy is down--

the wife keeps her troubles to herself (in contrast to the upper-middle-class housewife, who invariably tells her husband) or she shares her troubles with a friend or neighbor. She does not feel she can share her husband's moods, but, in general, she is not satisfied with his understanding of her. She enjoys and desires his affection and attention, however, and relatives are more important to her than friends.

The major causes of her "upset" are noisy, unruly children and lack of time. She is generally disorganized but this does not seem to bother her.

The lower-class wife sometimes regrets her marriage and feels that her husband regrets it even more often than she does. All things considered, however, she feels that she and her husband have a somewhat happy marriage. In actuality, her husband seldom regrets his marriage but is perceptive of his wife's feelings about the union.

One out of four of the lower-class couples have lived apart after a quarrel, and over one-half of the wives and almost half of the husbands have thought about living apart at least a few times.

Ideological Climate. The lower-class family's ideological climate tends to be traditional and male-dominant. The wife is more conventional in her values than her husband. Because of his authoritarian role in the home--as king of his castle and disciplinarian of the children--he, more than in any other class, feels that raising the children is not to be much more the mother's job than the father's. His autocratic role in relation to his children and his wife is manifested in his strong adherence to the values that women should not be placed in positions of authority over men; that the husband should have the main voice in family matters; that the woman who wants to remove "obey" from the marriage service doesn't

understand what it means to be a wife; that a child should never be allowed to talk back to his parents--that he must respect his parents and be grateful to them, and must be strongly disciplined. These attitudes are adhered to more strongly by the lower-class father than by the fathers in any other class. In return, the wife in this class believes that it is her role to obey her husband.

The Lower-Lower-Class Family

The lower-lower-class families reflect the slum culture, the bedrock of American society. These people strive mainly for physical and psychological survival, having had little reinforcement for a belief in the "rewarding world." Three-quarters of the lower-lower class are Caucasian, and the remaining quarter are Negro. Mexican-Americans account for 25 percent of the Caucasians in this social class group.

Only 47 percent of the marriages of these young people are primal and current; 53 percent classify as broken or as at least a second marriage for one or more of the partners. In 23 percent of the lower-lower-class households, there is no current male head. Seven out of ten families have at least four children, while half of them (53 percent) have five or more. In their education, 90 percent of the husbands (and wives) did not complete high school, with 60 percent of the husbands dropping out prior to the ninth grade. The income is between $5,000 and $7,000 a year for 23 percent, between $3,500 and $5,000 for 47 percent, and less than $3,500 for 27 percent. Four out of ten lower-lower-class families are currently on public relief.

Of the lower-lower-class husbands, 70 percent have no skills; 30 percent are in lower-blue-collar jobs. It goes without saying that individuals in this lowest social category are not markedly upward mobile; in fact, a

large percentage in this group are actually downward mobile--about 30 percent of this group is working in job classifications beneath those of their fathers. About half (55 percent) work between 30 and 40 hours a week, and 14 percent do not work at all.

Although these families have some formal commitment to religion (40 percent list themselves as Catholic and 53 percent as Protestant) only 14 percent of the wives attend church weekly, and about one-third attend twice a month or more. When ethnic considerations are taken into account, these overall figures become less valid for the Caucasian, since Negroes, by far the most religious group, constitute a quarter of the lower-lower class.

Only in this group is local geographic mobility associated with class. As against the total population, nearly twice the percent of the lower-lower class have moved ten times or more since marriage (33 percent, as against 18 percent overall). In a like period, 17 percent have moved more than 20 times.

Organizational Structure. The lower-lower-class husband is more involved in the day-to-day decisions and tasks within the house: he helps prepare the meals, cleans and does the dishes, helps choose the groceries--in fact, grocery shopping is one of his major household activities. The role of the wife, however, increases in all other areas of decision making and task allocation, while the husband's main concern outside the house is his automobile, his only strong masculine symbol. Part of his work around the house may be due to the spasmodic nature of his employment--the wife often feels that he should care for himself if he is not bringing home the paycheck.

The wife has almost complete responsibility for the discipline and care

of the children, and she also handles the finances, although the husband may make actual financial arrangements. On this basis, the lower-lower-class family may be termed matrifocal, with the wife handling the major decisions and the husband fulfilling a more passive domestic role. The management of the household, finances, and children is disorganized, with the children fending for themselves at an early age, the bills being paid on demand, and so forth.

Psychological Climate. The lower-lower-class household, not surprisingly, is the one of intense conflict. The disorganization, the confusion of traditional roles, the lack of mutuality, the increased instability of family (a quarter of the families had no current male head) are all related. A further conflict variable is the fact that the lower-lower-class husband is most rigid in his valuing of male dominance--and least able to obtain it.

Actual areas of conflict were described by the interviewed families in this order: leisure, morals, finances, children, clothing, and internal and external household management.

The lower-lower-class family is characterized by a lack of mutuality in decision making or in task allocation. This separateness shows up more vividly in their communications pattern. In short, they communicate the least. They spend little time visiting with each other; when they do talk, each feels that the other does not listen. There is little interest on the part of either spouse in what the other does, although the husband knows quite a bit more about the workings of the household than the wife does about his job. Verbal communication and empathy are minimal. The wives are dissatisfied and feel that their husbands do not understand them;

a large proportion (40 percent) have regretted their marriage fairly often, and 35 percent thought that their husbands regretted the marriage fairly often. Conversely, only 11 percent of the husbands admitted such regret, and not one of them imagined his wife's attitude to be one of regret.

The lower-lower class wife gets upset most often over noisy, rowdy children and is frustrated with the lack of communication with her husband.

Ideological Climate. Values held in the lower-lower-class family are traditional and male dominated, generally more so than in any other class. The wife holds some of these values more rigidly than her husband, although her role in actuality is often the reverse, thus pointing up the fact that she wishes for less responsibility and a stronger mate. The husband also wishes to be the head of the house, but he accepts his actual position more realistically.

Mothers in this social class want disciplined, moral children who have love and respect for their parents, while husbands hold as more important well-liked children who are like everybody else. Husbands feel it is the wife's fault that the children are messy and rowdy.

Both husband and wife valued as most important happy children with a lot of affection and cooperation within the family; their second desire is that the children become good, responsible citizens with a respected place in the community. The father wishes next for continued ability to ensure economic security for the family and maintain or steadily improve their standard of living; next, the family should have good moral and religious principles; lastly, he wants the family members to be treated as individuals, with their potentials developed to the fullest. The wife follows the same value patterns except that she places standard of living as least important.

Chapter III

Ethnic Determinants

Ethnic determinants are also related to family interaction. For example, the degree of disorganization represented by the structural breakdown of Negro family life has been the focus of study by sociologists and others concerned with the integration of Negroes into American life. However, much is yet to be learned about the operating dynamics and underlying causes of disorganization among Negro families. It is within these families that Negro children learn the most primitive categories of existence and experience, and that they develop their most deeply held beliefs about the world and themselves. The painful experiences these children have are interpreted in relation to their world, which is initially conceptualized as their home.

According to Edwards (8), these families are not homogeneous in organization, functioning, and ambitions for their children. Though some parents set training and discipline goals for their children, these are often undermined by influences beyond their power, and control over their children may be lost as early as the fifth or sixth year. The added variable of low level of parental educational achievement has obvious implications for the cultural life to which the Negro child is exposed in the home, and doubtless for the type of motivation the child receives for achievement in school. As reported in the 1960 census, approximately one-half (48.5 percent) of the heads of nonwhite (mainly Negro) families had not finished elementary school. Even in urban areas, where access to educational opportunities is somewhat greater, two out of five nonwhite

family heads failed to finish the last year of elementary school.

In contrast, the Orientals (Chinese and Japanese) had more than twice the proportion of their population in college or graduate schools as had Caucasians, had twice the proportion of their population employed in professional capacities as had whites, and had more than twice the proportion of their population employed in managerial or proprietary positions as had Caucasians. The Japanese and Chinese have one-half the unemployment rates of Caucasians. They have one-half the marriage dissolution rate, divorce rate, and broken-family rate of the Caucasians (9).

In what ways, then, do these two "nonwhite" ethnic family groups differ in their organizational, psychological, and ideological environments? The distribution of families in each ethnic group described below is: Caucasian, 82 percent (N=488); Negro, 11 percent (N=67); Oriental, 7 percent (N=39).

The Negro Family

The Negro marriage is more unstable and more prolific than any other. Nearly four out of ten (38 percent) of the Negroes in the young age group studied (all classes) are currently divorced or married for at least the second time, as against 25 percent of the Caucasians. Of importance for several reasons, 20 percent of the Negro households sampled have no male head--a proportion nearly seven times that of the Caucasian (3 percent). Four out of ten families have five or more children, the large family being made even larger in 28 percent of the households by the presence of one or more nonfamily members, often relatives.

Dropouts before the end of high school characterize nearly 40 percent of the Negro fathers, and half as many had never gone to high school. A

third (35 percent) of these families subsist on incomes of less than $5,000 a year, and 20 percent make less than $3,500. Over half (53 percent) of the families are in the lower class, with 10 percent in the lower-lower class, and 6 percent in the upper-middle class.

The Negro sample yielded other surprising statistics when compared with the Negro "stereotype": almost one out of three males (29.3 percent) had some college experience, and a third were employed in white-collar and professional jobs. The upward mobility of this upper stratum is attested to by the fact that only 25 percent of their fathers held similar jobs. Analysis of the patterns and attitudes of Negroes in the lower strata (63 percent of the total) does not reveal a parallel upward trend or inclination.

Statistics show that the Negro does not change his residence often. Over half the Negroes interviewed in Sacramento had lived there ten years or more, and 60 percent are purchasing a home. Over two-thirds have moved only a few times (five or less) since their marriage, as compared to one-half of the Caucasian families studied.

The Negro marriage itself is characterized by religious concern, dominance of the wife, unhappiness, conflict between spouses, and an unrealistic set of personal values. In comparison with the habit and value patterns of all people in the lower class (to which a majority of the Negroes belong), these facts constitute a more pessimistic configuration and resemble the lower-lower-class patterns generally, although nine out of ten Negroes were not classified in this lowest category.

Religion is the core of the Negro family, the major area in which the Negro husband and wife agree and in which they mutually participate.

They are involved actively, and they expect their children to be also. "Grace" is said before meals in 85 percent of the Negro homes, and three-fourths of the Negro children go to church every week. Almost half the mothers go once a week or more, and almost 70 percent are in church at least once a month. The husband attends church less, but agrees with the religious orientation of his family life, and both he and his wife desire most of all that the family live according to good moral and religious principles and be good citizens.

The matrifocal character of the Negro family is another distinguishing ethnic factor. In family matters, the wife takes the lead, an orientation resembling the dominance pattern in the lower-lower-class household but exceeding it in intensity. The husband, like his counterparts in the lower classes, helps around the house, but, unlike them, he has little interest in or knowledge of the actual workings of the household. One must conclude that the wife is responsible for what organization there is of household matters. Certainly, this is true regarding financial matters, where she proves to be responsible for the major decisions and arrangements, as well as financial planning. The automobile, however, is another matter; it is the husband's concern, and he cares for it and makes the decisions about it. His interest in the car exceeds that of males in any other group interviewed.

The wife has full responsibility for the children, except that the husband often decides when the children should be punished, although it is often the wife who must carry it out.

Communication between husband and wife is poor; they visit with each other only sporadically, though they argue a great deal, mostly about finances but also about almost everything else. They do not understand

each other, with each being dissatisfied and often regretting the marriage. The wife does not attempt to share her troubles with the husband, but seeks, instead, a confidant outside of the family. Curiously, the Negro husband has a confidant also, which was true of no other male group studied. Despite (or because of) the separateness of the partners in the Negro marriage, both husband and wife have a realistic view of the unhappiness of the spouse.

The value scales, however, revealed no such grasp of reality. The values the Negro desired most were those most atypical or unobtainable for him. The Negro husband, actually the least dominant of the ethnic and class groups studied, has the most intense longing for male dominance. He also subscribes to the traditional family ideology that the husband should make the important decisions and the wife and children should obey. The wife centers her aspirations on her children, wanting them to be good, to be responsible citizens, and to be respected in the community, all values which can seldom be realized, being thwarted by factors beyond her control.

In brief, the Negro marriage can be described as the most disorganized of those studied, and it is characterized by intense instability and constant conflict between husband and wife. The Negroes interviewed "desired" more keenly to achieve their goals but were ill-equipped to do so personally or by external circumstance. Except for the few most successful families, their habit patterns did not reflect an upward mobile trend. Their desires centered in immediate, unobtainable objectives rather than long-range goals.

The Oriental Family

In sharp contrast to the structural breakdown of Negro families, the Oriental is by far the most stable studied. Nine out of ten (93 percent) Oriental marriages are primal for both partners, with more than half (53 percent) producing no more than three children and 89 percent producing no more than four.

The Oriental approximates the Caucasian in his education, with 40 percent having some college experience and 29 percent having dropped out before the end of high school. From a somewhat dismal social class categorization a generation ago, the male has more than approximated Caucasian standards of achievement. Not one Oriental interviewed is now in an unskilled classification, although 20 percent of their parents were in this category. A similar spectacular jump can be seen in the number in a professional classification, where 7 percent of the Oriental males now fall, whereas not one of their fathers were classified as a professional.

Three-fourths of the Orientals have now achieved middle-class standing (lower-middle class and above), whereas only 58 percent of the Caucasians enjoy this status and only 36 percent of the Negroes. Only one in five of the Orientals makes less than $5,000 a year.

The Oriental marriage itself is quiescent and organized. The roles are carefully divided between husband and wife, with the wife taking household affairs and child-rearing as her domain. Finances are the major mutual task. The marital relationship is characterized by low verbal communication, but empathy is high, with both the husband and wife understanding each other satisfactorily. Conflict is minimal, centering on family finances. The wife prefers the traditional role, desiring her husband to be

"head of the house." The husband, however, does not feel autocratic about his role, although he demands filial respect and obedience. The Oriental marriage is inward looking, neither spouse choosing to have a confidant outside the household, although the wife enjoys visiting with her relatives, and the husband likes his close neighborhood male friends.

The happiness of the family members was the prime value listed by both husband and wife. The husband next wanted the family to live by moral principles, and then desired his children to achieve their potentials. The wife listed the latter for her children as second to happiness, and hoped for community respect as the third desire.

Chapter IV

Summary

Conclusions

Certain social class and ethnic correlates exist which permit a description of family patterns. Demographically, a positive relationship exists between social class and the following characteristics: marital stability; limitation of family size; educational attainment of spouses; family income and home ownership; the husband's hours at work; the achievement of upward mobility; Caucasian ethnic background; and Protestant religious preference.

Ethnic correlates which are not related directly to social class indicate that, in general, the Negro marriage is composed of large families and constitutes a highly unstable system. In contrast, the Oriental family is small and is highly stable. Upward social mobility is a strong factor for the Oriental, while the Negro has made little advance socially. Both ethnic groups tend to be geographically stable, and both maintain close and extensive family ties.

A positive relationship exists between social class and the organizational structure of the family. The higher the social status of families, the more the wife is organized about, and takes responsibility in, carrying out the internal and external household routine. (A curvilinear relationship exists between management and social class, with wives in the upper-middle and lower-lower classes taking more responsibility than wives in the lower-middle and lower classes.) A direct relationship exists, however, in the degree to which the husband is involved with his wife in the management and care of their children.

The Negro family tends to be matrifocal at all social levels, whereas the Oriental husband, in general, assumes the role of head of the household and both the husband and wife assume their traditional roles in family decision making and task allocation.

The psychological climate of the family is also related to social class. The higher the social class, the more the husband and wife communicate and empathize with each other. They are also happier and more generally satisfied with their marriage, and encounter less conflict than is found in the lower social classes.

Negro families, in general, experience little empathy or communication, and both regret their marriage, while Oriental families relate well, with minimum conflict.

The ideological climate reflects values related to social class. The higher the social class, the more likely the family is to be nonauthoritarian, nontraditional, democratic, and equalitarian in ideological values of family life. These families are also more likely to believe in the importance of developing individual potential, and are more likely to reject the importance of maintaining or increasing its standard of living and gaining economic security. They are also more likely to practice religion actively through family attendance at church.

The Oriental wife is generally traditional and conventional in her beliefs about her husband's role in household activities and decision making. The Negro wife is generally nontraditional, believing that her husband should participate in household tasks, and should not assume the role of autocratic head of the household. However, she is generally more traditional than her Caucasian counterpart in ideological beliefs concerning her children. The Oriental husband is less traditional than his wife,

and the Negro husband more traditional than his wife, in ideological valuations. Religion and religious practices constitute major focuses for the Negro family, while the Oriental family shows little demonstrative participation in religious ritual.

In addition, both the Negro husband and wife have confidants outside the immediate family, while the Oriental family has no such outside relationship.

Implications

The organizational, psychological, and ideological climates of the upper-middle-class family provide a positive "area" for the developmental processes of their children. In addition to spacious, well-cared-for physical surroundings, an aura of parental happiness and stability surrounds the young child. Within the family exists a climate of mutuality in decision making and communication. Disorganization and conflict are at a minimum. The family lives in an expanded world where cultural opportunities are maximized. Both parents are busy with their individual interests, but are also engrossed with their children. Mutual respect is reflected in their democratic, equalitarian, nonauthoritarian mode of life. Educational values are important guides to the socialization of the children.

A child growing up in this environment will, in all probability, start school with a personality filled with cultural advantages. One might predict, from knowledge based on the first five years of the upper-middle-class child, that his decision will involve "Which college should I attend?" In fact, a decision not to attend college might be much more difficult for him than for a child in any other class.

The upper-middle-class families epitomize society's values for the "good life," the "development of individual potential," and the opportunity

for "success." Herein lies the example of the "American dream."

As we descend the ladder of social class, the "American dream" becomes hazy and fades. At the bottom of the ladder we find families filled with guilt and frustration, hopelessness, and rejection when confronted with the "oughts" of society. Often, for this class, social workers and other professionals exacerbate the tendency to use the norms of the "American family life" as weapons by supporting the norms where they are, in fact, untenable (10). Such dissonance aggravates the sense of failing or being failed, which tends to deepen commitment to the parental norms of the slum subculture.

A child reared in a lower-lower-class family or lower-class Negro family is a product of what Goldstein (11) calls a "sick society," for little opportunity exists there for an individual to develop his potential. His physical surroundings are shabby, disorganized, and overcrowded, and his psychological surroundings are even more disoriented. He may not know his father, and, if he does, the image is one he does not wish to emulate. His mother is his only constant psychological support, and her actions are often diametrically opposed to her extended beliefs and values. The child's own ability to communicate is thwarted by the lack of parental communication and empathy. Conflict and quibbling are the norms for communication at this level.

Because of the lack of organization in the lower-lower-class and lower-class Negro household, the children quickly learn to fend for themselves and set their own schedules for eating, going to school, sleeping, etc. The development of autonomy is one way in which the child can preserve his psychological "security." It remains, however, an essential problem

throughout life. The societal "structure" superimposed on these children from the time they first enter the classroom is likely to be conceptualized in the same light as the threatening authoritarian (but "escapable") environment of the home.

Though mothers strive for disciplined, moral children who respect their parents and eventually become good and responsible citizens, the child receives little positive reinforcement either within the home or in his limited subculture. Individuality is suppressed, and conformity--to be like the "other children"--is stressed. The educational objective of developing "individual potential" is "put down" in such families, for this can lead only to frustration and disillusionment. Similar structuring of family values is also true for the lower class, although families in this class realize some opportunity for upward mobility.

Based on the findings of this study, it would seem tenable for the "Great Society" to concentrate its efforts toward understanding more fully the "climates" that surround lower-class Negro families and lower-lower-class families to determine ways of "breaking" the organizational, psychological, and ideological barriers that prevent these families from rising above the cloacal trough of society. All other classes have "climates" that eventually carry them above this level. Here at least, those responsible for preschool programs and public education--with an understanding of individual and group differences--can provide educational experience directed toward "positive" development of the individual congruent with societal norms. However, for the lower-class Negro and the lower-lower class, improved housing, improved schools, and better jobs will not by themselves solve the "problem." The sickness is deep. Beliefs, values, and components of the personality are

not so easily changed, for these are established early in life and, once established, tend to be perpetuated.

The Oriental families were literally a race apart 25 years ago, carrying with them the burden of "coolie" slavery. Today, they blend with society much, much more than does the Negro. Special attention might be given to the history of change in the organizational, psychological, and ideological climates of these families. No parallel exists for comparison among the lower-lower-class Orientals in the 1920's and the lower-lower-class families today. However, certain factors of change might provide "insights" into the process itself.

Appendix I

Development of the Instrument

The interview schedule was developed to identify underlying factors which would provide a description of the living patterns of young families. Measurement of these patterns is based on ten scales designed to assess the organizational, psychological, and ideological climates of these families. In addition, scales were developed to measure family values and other family attributes. These particular "climates" were selected as a result of an intensive review of the literature pertaining to family structure and family interaction. Initially, the instrument was composed of 24 scales. Five scales and certain items were eliminated as a result of item, scale, and factor analysis of the pre-tests.

The Organizational Climate refers to the patterning of roles in relation to who makes the decisions and who does the tasks in maintaining a functioning household. Also measured was the degree of organization, or "routine," in carrying out these tasks. Tasks representing the operational functions of the family include:

1. Internal household management. Examples include care of the house, grocery shopping, meal preparation, care of clothes.
2. External household management. Included are such items as care of the yard and automobile, and fixing things around the house.
3. Financial management. Items include the areas of paying bills, making financial arrangements, and purchasing large items and clothing.
4. Management of children. This scale includes measures of child discipline and child care.

Items constituting these four subscales were used to measure the three aspects of the Organizational Climate of the family: Decision Making (DM), Task Allocation (TA), and Organization (ORG).

The Psychological Climate includes interpersonal communication and the "aura" of happiness or unhappiness pervading the family. This concept refers to the family network for carrying messages and transmitting information, feelings, and ideas among the various members of the family. The four scales used to measure this dimension include:

1. Interpersonal Communications (CM). Items include knowledge and interest in the work of the husband and wife, communication on problems, times for visiting with each other, etc.
2. Empathy (EM). This includes measures of satisfaction with communication, understanding, affection, companionship, and sensitivity to moods of the spouse.
3. Happiness-Regret (HR). This includes measures of happiness and regret in marriage, living apart after a quarrel, and thinking about living apart.
4. Conflict (CF). This includes measures of spousal disagreement about management of household, finances, and children.

The Ideological Climate concerns the attitudes that individuals hold toward the way in which their family should ideally operate. Values refer to the system of ideas, attitudes, and beliefs which, consciously or unconsciously, bind together the members of the family in a common culture. Measures include:

1. Sex Role Orientation (SRO). Items include measures of the wife's traditional roles in the home, e.g., cooking, cleaning, care of

children, and husband's attitude toward participation in "woman's work."

2. Male Dominance (MD). Items include measures of man's authority in the household and woman's acquiescence.
3. Traditional Family Ideology (TFI). Items include measures relating to parental authority over children and their reciprocal respect for parents.
4. Family Values. This measure constitutes a rank ordering of five values relating to family life. These include respect in the community, religious and moral principles, standard of living, individual development, and happiness and affection.

Other scales include measures of Social Class (SC), Geographic Mobility (MB), Confidants (CD), Social Extroversion (SE), and Religious Practice (RP).

Social class definitions were based on categories developed by Warner. Three scales designed to measure family ideology were taken from work done by Levinson and Huffman (12) based on authoritarian personality research by Adorno et al. (13). Social extroversion measures were adapted from work done by Heist and Yonge (14). Other work useful in development of the instrument was that of Blood and Wolfe (15).

Construction of the items was based primarily on the hypothesized dimensions describing family climates. Lists of items were collected over a six-month period. The items were then classified according to constructs they were intended to measure. From this classification, specific items were selected for the interview schedule. Item homogeneity was considered in selecting through observation and evaluation only those items that

measured the constructs under which they were classified. Items that were ambiguous or that could be classified in more than one construct were eliminated.

Content validity was obtained by the method of item construction. The definition of the three "climates" served as a limitation on the universe from which the items were drawn. Relative independence between constructs was provided by establishing concise definition of each climate. Further clarification and differentiation were obtained by dividing the items within each climate into subsets. These subsets of items were classified according to the facets describing a single dimension.

Scoring methods included a five-step rating scale for obtaining judgments of respondents for most construct measures. Weights ranging from one to five were assigned to each successive interval. One scale (HR), however, was expanded to include a seven-point continuum.

Pre-testing of the interview schedule was conducted with 25 randomly selected young homemakers in a small northern-California community. Revisions consisted of addition, clarification, and delineation of items. Interviewer cues and directions to interviewers for recording judgments were also evaluated. Further revision was made on the schedule after the first wave of interviews with 200 young homemakers in three rural, semi-rural, and semi-urban communities. This revision consisted of further deletion of items and elimination of five of the scales. All data analyzed in this study were based on the final revision.

Internal consistency-reliability estimates were computed for the pre-test and after the first wave of interviewing, and were also computed to ascertain the accuracy of the final ratings of the total sample. Application of the fixed analysis of variance model (16) for reliability estimates

provided unique coefficients displaying a "respectable" degree of internal consistency for responses on each of the measures. The coefficients ranged from .54 to .86 (average of around .70).

Appendix II

Sampling Procedure

To provide a partial "control" on the family stage in the life cycle, the population was limited to families with a child in the first grade, and confined to four communities, ranging from rural to metropolitan and from geographically stable to mobile. The total population included was 4,608.

The study was composed of two phases. The first phase consisted of an investigation of families in three rural to semi-urban communities. The population from which the sample was drawn during this phase consisted of 620 families. The second phase constituted a study of families in the metropolitan environment, with an eligible population of 3,988.

Sampling in the first phase consisted of a stratified random sample of families, with proportional allocation by schools within districts in each of the three communities. A 32 percent sample was drawn from the population of each of the communities, constituting a 32 percent sample of the population of the three communities combined (N=200).

Sampling in the second phase consisted of a multistage stratified random sampling procedure with proportional allocation of randomly selected school districts within the metropolitan area. The first stage consisted of a random sampling of the 50 school districts included in the city school system. One-half of the school districts were selected. In the second stage, a subsample of family units was drawn, proportionally allocated by schools in the selected districts. This provided a 10 percent sample of the total metropolitan population and an 18 percent sample for the school

districts included as sub-units (N=400).

Just prior to initial contact with the respondents, a complete listing of first-grade students was obtained for all school districts in the four communities. A table of random numbers was used for selecting school districts and family units.

The initial contact with the families was a personal letter from the investigator. This was followed by telephone contact or personal visit (in cases with no phone) to establish an appointment time for the interviews. Refusals were practically nonexistent, thanks to interviewer persistence. Some loss occurred, from respondents who moved without leaving a forwarding address.

Interviews averaged about one hour and 15 minutes. At the conclusion of the interview, the wife filled out an opinion sheet which contained the Ideological Climate scales, the Social Extroversion scale, and the Happiness-Regret scale. This was collected by the interviewer, and a copy was left for the husband to complete. Responses were obtained from 70 percent of the husbands.

Appendix III

Analysis of the Prototype Communities

The four communities, chosen from the same geographical area, range in size from rural to metropolitan, the smaller three locations growing in percentages that are somewhat geometrically in relation to each other--Winters, 23 percent; Dixon, 74 percent; Vacaville, 244 percent--during the 1950-1960 period. The metropolitan area, Sacramento, was, like Winters, relatively stable (38 percent) and serves as a check for size and mobility factors. The locations individually provided a full spread of class distinctions and mobility factors. Full ethnic differences, however, were not available in all communities, although the total drawn from all four communities contained adequate samples of Caucasian, Oriental, and Negro residents as well as a sizable Spanish-American population.

The choice was made on the basis of census figures and county records; information was also obtained from school administrators and chambers of commerce, and in on-site investigations.

Population Growth and Change

Two of the communities are not growing: the Sacramento population size is relatively stable in the central city (the portion studied) because additional housing can be achieved there only through multistoried structures. Winters, the smallest area studied, also had a relatively static population, but for very different reasons. In this case, population stability apparently occurred because the community presents few new job opportunities or other special amenities which would draw an expanded population. Vacaville, intermediate in size, has grown phenomenally, however. In contrast to Winters, it is a city not only expanding rapidly but highly receptive to

change. Its population is a highly mobile one also (though with job security), because the personnel of the armed services at the air base are subject to transfer. Vacaville's economy is based on its proximity to a large air base and a state medical correctional facility. Dixon's population is also growing, but is less dynamic than Vacaville's in every way, yet more cosmopolitan than Winters.

Economic Base and Social Class Structure

The economic base of Winters is the most homogeneous of the four communities studied, being built upon a single industry--fruit and nut crops. This agricultural industry is highly seasonal, employing a diversified labor force for periods of about four months, followed by a long slack period. Winters therefore has a semitransient lower-class population which comes because of full family employment, remains beyond the season (perhaps for six months to two years), and moves to other areas of similar job opportunities. These families possibly move because of better wages, but also because of boredom and a lack of general opportunity in the slack seasons. The permanent population of Winters (i.e. more than five years' residency) includes some lower and lower-middle class, such as the shopkeepers providing goods and services to the community, but is made up primarily of upper-middle-class residents--landholders and the few professionals who are required in the community.

Dixon, in contrast, has a more diversified agricultural base, specializing in row crops, grain, sheep, and cattle, and agricultural industries based on this combination. In particular, Dixon supports two large meat-packing houses and a dehydrating plant. In addition, there is a large Voice of America transmitting station nearby. The diversity of agriculture

means that employment is less seasonal overall, and the year-round agri-businesses provide stable employment opportunities. Based less narrowly on the land, Dixon is more able to accept and effect change than is Winters. Its population in the upper-middle class includes not only landowners and the usual contingent of professionals, but also owners and managers of the agriculturally affiliated industries. There is also a larger stable lower-middle-class and lower-class population. Dixon, in contrast to Winters, also has a sizable lower-lower class (10.5 percent), possibly because of its fringe relationship to the stable lower class. This element is much smaller in Winters because the lower class is more often a mobile population unit.

Vacaville is based not on the land, but on services. The majority of families interviewed drew their livelihood from the state or federal government--at the state correctional facility or Travis Air Force Base. Other employment comes from a large dehydration plant, a large Pacific Gas and Electric substation, and an imaginative complex of restaurant facilities along Interstate Highway 80. In all but one direction from the city, the farming is primarily dryland. Agriculture, then, is proportionately less important to the community than the real estate and other businesses serving the population. The resident in Vacaville is different from his counterpart in Dixon and Winters. He is physically mobile (62 percent have lived there less than five years, while only 24 to 26 percent of the age group interviewed can say the same in Winters and Dixon). Having impermanence, he is threatened less by a change in the status quo. Thus, Vacaville has a dynamic civic program and is progressive in many of its community attitudes.

Of the communities studied, Sacramento is the most diversified in terms of economic base, ethnic composition, and social structure. The core area includes large sections of elegant housing and districts in process of redevelopment. Other sections include tract housing for middle-class and lower-middle-class living. The large non-Caucasian population has found its place in the metropolitan community because the central core area offers the most tolerance in terms of rents and social organization for minority groups. These groups are fairly content in Sacramento, however, for 60 percent have lived there ten years or longer, and more than 75 percent have resided there longer than five years. Like Dixon, Sacramento has a lower-lower class which bears a fringe relationship to the relatively stable lower and lower-middle class. These latter find a wide variety of jobs in Sacramento, and a certain flexibility is afforded because of the numbers and diversity of persons employed.

Appendix IV

Demographic Tables
Analysis of Profile Data
Profile Charts

Table 1

Ethnic Composition of Families by Social Class

Race	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Caucasian	90.2	84.7	81.3	75.9	83.9
Negro	4.4	8.5	16.0	24.1	11.5
Oriental	5.4	6.8	2.7	0.0	4.6

Table 2

Marital Status of Families by Social Class

Marital status	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
First marriage for both	85.1	81.8	64.9	46.7	74.0
First for husband or wife	10.7	14.1	19.8	13.3	15.7
Second or more for both	2.1	2.9	8.3	16.7	5.6
Currently divorced (widowed, separated)	2.1	1.2	7.0	23.3	4.7

Note: 0.3 percent widowed

Note: Tables appear in general order of discussion within the text. N's for families are: upper-middle (N=91); lower-middle (N=245); lower (N=228); lower-lower (N=30). Figures in these tables represent percentages.

Table 3

Number of Children per Family by Social Class

Number of children	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
2 or less	40.4	22.8	27.1	10.0	26.6
3	27.7	39.0	19.6	16.7	28.6
4	18.1	23.7	26.2	20.0	23.6
5 or more	13.8	14.5	27.1	53.3	21.2

Table 4

Educational Level of Husband by Social Class

Educational level	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Less than high school graduate	2.1	17.4	53.3	89.3	32.2
High school graduate	18.1	34.4	31.7	7.1	29.5
Some college	25.5	32.8	13.2	3.6	22.7
College graduate	54.3	15.4	1.8	0.0	15.6

Table 5

Educational Level of Wife by Social Class

Educational level	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Less than high school graduate	6.4	17.8	50.2	90.0	32.2
High school graduate	40.4	47.7	41.1	10.0	42.1
Some college	38.3	24.5	6.1	0.0	18.3
College graduate	14.9	10.0	2.6	0.0	7.4

Table 6

Housing Status of Families by Social Class

Housing status	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Buying--own	90.4	80.1	58.1	30.0	70.7
Renting	9.6	19.9	41.9	70.0	29.3

Table 7

Level of Family Income by Social Class

Income level	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Less than 5,000	4.3	6.2	33.9	73.3	20.0
5,000-9,999	28.0	62.9	55.5	26.7	52.7
10,000 +	67.7	30.9	10.6	0.0	27.3

Table 8

Occupational Status of Husband by Social Class

Occupation	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Professional--semi-professional	92.5	21.1	0.0	0.0	23.1
Upper--lower white-collar	7.5	62.5	7.5	0.0	29.3
Upper--lower blue-collar	0.0	16.0	82.0	30.0	39.8
Unskilled	0.0	0.4	10.5	70.0	7.8

Table 9

Occupational Status of Husband's Father by Social Class

Occupation	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Professional--semi-professional	32.6	12.9	4.5	0.0	12.3
Upper--lower white-collar	35.9	33.6	28.8	11.5	31.1
Upper--lower blue-collar	21.7	39.6	38.7	30.8	36.0
Unskilled	5.4	9.2	17.6	50.0	13.6
Don't know	4.4	4.7	10.4	7.7	7.0

Table 10

Hours Husband Spends Away from Home at Work by Social Class

Hours at work	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
40 hours or less	24.5	42.7	61.8	69.0	48.5
41--59	31.9	38.6	23.7	20.7	30.9
60 +	43.6	18.7	14.5	10.3	20.6

Table 11

Church Attendance of Wife by Social Class

Church attendance	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Rarely or never	15.2	15.1	29.8	40.9	22.1
Few times per year	13.6	24.1	18.5	27.3	20.6
1--2 times per month	20.3	21.7	16.6	18.2	19.4
Once a week or more	50.9	39.1	35.1	13.6	37.9

Table 12

Religious Affiliation of Wife by Social Class

Religious preference	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Catholic	19.1	26.6	29.7	40.0	27.3
Protestant	67.0	68.0	63.7	53.3	65.4
Jewish	1.1	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.5
No preference	12.8	4.6	4.8	6.7	6.1
Other	0.0	0.4	1.3	0.0	0.7

Table 13

Length of Husband's Area Residence by Social Class

Length of residence	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Less than 5 years	28.0	28.9	30.1	10.7	28.4
5--9 years	14.0	21.3	18.8	32.1	19.7
10 years or more, but not lifetime	36.5	33.1	37.6	53.6	36.3
Lifetime	21.5	16.7	13.5	3.6	15.6

Table 14

Length of Wife's Area Residence by Social Class

Length of residence	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Less than 5 years	25.5	28.2	29.2	13.3	27.4
5--9 years	22.3	25.3	18.8	40.0	23.1
10 years or more, but not lifetime	35.1	32.0	38.0	40.0	35.2
Lifetime	17.1	14.5	14.0	6.7	14.3

Table 15

Number of Houses or Apartments Family has Occupied Since Marriage by Social Class

Number of moves	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
10 or more	19.2	19.5	15.3	33.4	18.5
6--9	29.8	29.9	28.8	30.0	29.5
3--5	40.4	39.0	40.2	23.3	38.9
1--2	10.6	11.6	15.7	13.3	13.1

Table 16

Individuals Other Than Immediate Family Living in Home by Social Class

Composition	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Lower-lower	Total
Nuclear only	86.2	90.5	87.3	83.3	88.2
Extended and other	13.8	9.5	12.7	16.7	11.8

Table 17

Social Class Composition by Ethnic Group

Class	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Upper-middle	16.9	17.9	5.9	15.7
Lower-middle	40.8	57.1	30.9	40.5
Lower	37.6	25.0	52.9	38.7
Lower-lower	4.7	0.0	10.3	5.1

Table 18

Marital Status of Families by Ethnic Group

Marital status	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
First for both	74.7	92.9	61.8	74.0
First for husband or wife	16.7	7.1	11.8	15.7
Second or more for both	5.6	0.0	7.3	5.6
Currently divorced (widowed, separated) Note: 0.3 percent widowed	3.0	0.0	19.1	4.7

Note: Tables appear in general order of discussion within the text. N's for ethnic families are: Caucasian (N=488); Oriental (N=39); Negro (N=67). Figures in these tables represent percentages.

Table 19

Number of Children per Family by Ethnic Group

Number of children	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
2 or less	28.7	21.4	13.2	26.6
3	28.5	32.2	28.0	28.6
4	23.5	35.7	19.1	23.6
5 or more	19.3	10.7	39.7	21.2

Table 20

Educational Level of Husband by Ethnic Group

Educational level	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Less than high school graduate	31.3	28.6	40.9	32.2
High school graduate	29.4	32.1	28.8	29.5
Some college	22.8	25.0	21.2	22.7
College graduate	16.5	14.3	9.1	15.6

Table 21

Educational Level of Wife by Ethnic Group

Educational level	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Less than high school graduate	31.7	25.0	38.2	32.2
High school graduate	42.8	46.4	35.3	42.1
Some college	18.3	17.9	19.1	18.3
College graduate	7.2	10.7	7.4	7.4

Table 22

Housing Status of Families by Ethnic Group

Housing status	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Buying--own	71.5	78.6	61.8	70.7
Renting	28.5	21.4	38.2	29.3

Table 23

Level of Family Income by Ethnic Group

Income level	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Less than 5,000	18.0	21.4	34.8	20.0
5,000--9,999	53.0	53.6	50.0	52.7
10,000 +	29.0	25.0	15.2	27.3

Table 24

Occupational Status of Husband by Ethnic Group

Occupation	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Professional--semi-professional	25.0	25.0	8.8	23.1
Upper--lower white-collar	29.5	35.7	25.0	29.3
Upper--lower blue-collar	38.4	39.3	50.0	39.8
Unskilled	7.1	0.0	16.2	7.8

Table 25

Occupational Status of Husband's Father by Ethnic Group

Occupation	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Professional--semi-professional	13.7	3.9	4.8	12.3
Upper--lower white-collar	33.3	19.2	19.0	31.1
Upper--lower blue-collar	34.8	57.7	36.5	36.0
Unskilled	13.4	19.2	12.7	13.6
Don't know	4.8	0.0	27.0	7.0

Table 26

Hours Husband Spends Away from Home at Work by Ethnic Group

Hours at work	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
40 hours or less	45.3	42.9	73.5	48.5
41--59	33.1	39.3	11.8	30.9
60 +	21.6	17.8	14.7	20.6

Table 27

Church Attendance of Wife by Ethnic Group

Church attendance	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Rarely or never	21.0	40.0	20.3	22.1
Few times per year	22.6	16.0	12.5	20.6
1--2 times per month	18.5	24.0	21.9	19.4
Once a week or more	37.9	20.0	45.3	37.9

Table 28

Religious Affiliation of Wife by Ethnic Group

Religious preference	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Catholic	29.3	17.8	16.2	27.3
Protestant	63.3	64.3	82.3	65.4
Jewish	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.5
No preference	6.2	14.3	1.5	6.1
Other	0.6	3.6	0.0	0.7

Table 29

Length of Husband's Area Residence by Ethnic Group

Length of residence	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Less than 5 years	29.8	28.6	16.9	28.4
5--9 years	19.4	10.7	26.2	19.7
10 years or more, but not lifetime	34.7	39.3	47.7	36.3
Lifetime	16.1	21.4	9.2	15.6

Table 30

Length of Wife's Area Residence by Ethnic Group

Length of residence	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Less than 5 years	28.5	35.7	16.2	27.4
5--9 years	22.1	21.4	30.9	23.1
10 years or more, but not lifetime	33.5	28.6	50.0	35.2
Lifetime	15.9	14.3	2.9	14.3

Table 31

Number of Houses or Apartments Family has Occupied Since Marriage by Ethnic Group

Number of moves	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
10 or more	19.7	14.3	11.8	18.5
6--9	31.7	10.7	20.6	29.5
3--5	35.9	57.1	52.9	38.9
1--2	12.7	17.9	14.7	13.1

Table 32

Individuals Other than Immediate Family Living in Home by Ethnic Group

Composition	Caucasian	Oriental	Negro	Total
Nuclear only	90.8	82.1	72.1	88.2
Extended and other	9.2	17.9	27.9	11.8

Analysis of Profile Data

An incomplete principle components analysis was used to explore dimensions of and test hypotheses concerning the family variables. The 27 intercorrelations included 16 family scales, 6 demographic variables and 5 rank ordered family values. The criteria for the number of components to extract is Guttman's "weak" lower bound to the number of common factors (17). Twelve factors were extracted whose eigenvalues accounted for 71 percent of the total variance.

Three of these factors, 2, 3 and 5, describe the hypothesized climates:

Factor 3	<u>Organizational Climate</u>	
	Decision making	89*
	Task allocation	87
Factor 2	<u>Psychological Climate</u>	
	Conflict	-77
	Communications	73
	Empathy	85
	Happiness-regret	80
Factor 5	<u>Ideological Climate</u>	
	Sex role orientation	72
	Male dominance	82
	Traditional family ideology	77

The only scale that did not appear as a component of the hypothesized organizational climate was the degree to which a family is "routinized" in scheduling household tasks. This variable (organization) appears in factors 1 and 18.

The family oriented values do not appear under the general construct of ideological climate, but "emerge" as separate doubleton factors. The doubleton pattern is due in part to the "forced choice" method of rank ordering which was used as the basis for weighting these variables.

*Decimals have been omitted

These factors include:

Factor 4 Moral Concern

Live according to moral and religious principles	92
Increase standard of living and insure economic security	-58

Factor 7 Social Acceptance

Respect in community and responsible citizenship	96
Develop individual potential	-37

Factor 9 Familial Affection

Happy children and family affection	94
Increase standard of living and insure economic security	-45

Six additional factors are identified which describe other dimensions of family interaction.

Factor 1 Social Class

Index of status characteristics	75
Education of husband	82
Education of wife	74
Husband hours at work	41
Household organization	38
Develop individual potential	38

Factor 6 Extroversion

Social extroversion	76
Shared leisure time	78

Factor 8 Family Stability

Geographic mobility	-69
Household organization	60
Years married	52

Factor 10	Family Solidarity	
	Number of children	72
	Years married	53
	Religious practice	40
	Develop individual potential	-32
Factor 11	Individuality	
	Confidants	-79
	Develop individual potential	36
Factor 12	Racial Differences	
	Religious practice	41
	Individual potential	-42
	Negro ethnic classification	76

Tables 33 and 34 present an analysis of variance of the family profile data (18) for both social class and ethnic groups. Significant differences were found in both "level" and "shape" of the mean profiles. In order to analyze further the differences among the group profile means a multiple range test (19) for groups with unequal numbers of replications (20) was used. This analysis is presented in Table 35. Any two means connected with the same line are not significantly different; conversely, only those means not connected by the same line differ significantly ($p < .05$).

Table 33

Mixed Analysis of Variance of Profile Data for Social Class and Climate Scales

Source	df	df (reduced)*	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Tests	9	7		
Groups	3	3	1029.75	9.16**
Individuals within groups	590	590	112.39	
Groups X tests	27	20	2499.48	29.10**
Individuals X tests within groups	5310	4003	85.88	
Total	5939			

*Epsilon = .754
**P < .001 for "level" and "shape" of profiles.

Table 34

Mixed Analysis of Variance of Profile Data for Race and Climate Scales

Source	df	df (reduced)*	Mean Square	F-Ratio
Tests	9	7		
Groups	2	2	644.37	5.59*
Individuals within groups	591	591	115.26	
Groups X tests	18	13	517.24	5.35*
Individuals X tests within groups	5319	4010	99.82	
Total	5939			

*Epsilon = .754
**P < .005 for "level" and "shape" of profiles

Table 35

Standard Score Means ($\bar{X}$) and Standard Deviations (SD) on Scales Measuring Family Climates for Families Classified According to Social Class and Ethnic Group*

Family Group		Family Climates: Organizational			Psychological				Ideological		
		DM	TA	Lack of Org	Lack of CF	CM	EM	HR	SRO	MD	TFI
Upper-middle	$\bar{X}$	47.8	48.0	46.1	50.5	53.2	52.5	52.0	48.4	47.5	46.1
	SD	10.2	10.5	10.3	10.2	9.7	10.0	9.5	9.0	7.4	8.5
Lower-middle	$\bar{X}$	49.4	49.2	48.8	50.7	50.0	50.7	51.2	49.3	49.1	48.5
	SD	9.3	9.4	9.3	8.9	8.9	9.7	9.2	9.5	9.4	9.4
Lower	$\bar{X}$	51.6	51.3	52.1	49.8	49.3	49.0	48.3	51.2	51.4	52.6
	SD	10.1	10.3	9.5	9.5	10.0	9.8	10.2	11.1	10.7	10.4
Lower-lower	$\bar{X}$	49.6	52.4	55.1	43.8	45.7	44.2	46.3	51.7	54.6	55.4
	SD	12.5	9.2	11.8	17.3	15.6	11.7	13.7	8.5	12.0	9.5
Caucasian	$\bar{X}$	49.8	49.6	49.9	50.2	50.8	50.3	50.8	49.9	49.6**	49.4
	SD	10.0	10.0	10.1	9.8	9.5	10.0	9.6	10.0	9.9	10.1
Oriental	$\bar{X}$	49.3	51.1	49.0	51.9	49.7	50.8	50.4	54.4	55.1	54.2
	SD	9.5	7.2	9.1	9.4	9.6	7.0	7.8	9.9	8.4	8.0
Negro	$\bar{X}$	51.5	52.0	51.4	47.2	43.9	47.5	43.3	47.8	50.1**	52.5
	SD	10.4	11.0	9.2	11.3	11.6	10.8	11.4	9.1	10.4	9.5

*All means with a line along the right side are not significantly different (.05 level) based on Duncan's multiple range with Kramer's extension for unequal N's.

**Not significantly different.

Note: N's for families are: upper-middle (N=91); lower-middle (N=245); lower (N=228); lower-lower (N=30).
N's for ethnic families are: Caucasian (N=488); Oriental (N=39); Negro (N=67).

Code of Family Climates: DM=Decision Making; TA=Task Allocation; Lack of Org=Lack of Organization; Lack of CF=Lack of Conflict; CM=Communications; EM=Empathy; HR=Happiness-Regret; SRO=Sex-Role Orientation; MD=Male Dominance; TFI=Traditional Family Ideology.

Table 36

Standard Score Means ($\bar{X}$) and Standard Deviations (SD) on Family Climate Scales for Negro Families Stratified by Social Class

Class		Family Climates: Organizational			Psychological				Ideological		
		DM	TA	Lack of Org	Lack of CF	CM	EM	HR	SRO	MD	TFI
Upper and lower-middle (N=24)	$\bar{X}$	52.0	51.1	50.6	49.8	44.8	47.7	42.7	47.0	48.4	50.3
	SD	10.7	11.1	9.4	8.6	11.3	11.1	12.1	9.4	9.9	11.3
Lower and lower-lower (N=43)	$\bar{X}$	51.2	52.6	51.8	45.7	43.4	47.3	43.5	48.2	50.9	53.5
	SD	10.3	11.1	11.1	12.4	11.9	10.8	11.1	9.1	10.7	8.5

Table 37

Standard Score Means ($\bar{X}$) and Standard Deviations (SD) on Scales Measuring Happiness-Regret and Family Ideology for Husbands by Social Class

Class		HR	SRO	MD	TFI
Upper-middle (N=74)	$\bar{X}$	51.6	49.1	46.9	45.0
	SD	9.8	8.3	9.1	10.1
Lower-middle (N=180)	$\bar{X}$	50.3	49.8	50.0	49.0
	SD	10.0	10.3	9.1	8.5
Lower (N=128	$\bar{X}$	48.8	50.7	51.7	53.9
	SD	10.0	9.8	10.8	9.7
Lower-lower (N=9)	$\bar{X}$	48.4	51.9	52.1	56.2
	SD	12.6	18.7	16.4	17.3

Table 38

Standard Score Means ($\bar{X}$) and Standard Deviations (SD) on Scales Measuring Happiness-Regret and Family Ideology for Negro Husbands Stratified by Social Class

Class		HR	SRO	MD	TFI
Upper-lower middle (N=11)	$\bar{X}$	40.2	45.5	48.5	47.8
	SD	11.4	10.3	8.1	11.7
Lower, Lower-lower (N=14)	$\bar{X}$	44.2	50.8	55.6	59.3
	SD	10.3	11.9	13.2	9.7

Table 39

Standard Score Means ($\bar{X}$) and Standard Deviations (SD) on Scales Measuring Happiness-Regret and Family Ideology for Husbands by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group		HR	SRO	MD	TFI
Caucasian	$\bar{X}$	50.4	50.3	49.9	49.5
	SD	9.8	9.9	9.8	9.8
Negro	$\bar{X}$	42.5	48.4	52.5	54.3
	SD	10.7	11.4	11.6	11.9
Oriental	$\bar{X}$	51.3	47.7	49.4	52.3
	SD	9.0	11.7	10.9	8.4

Fig. 1

MEAN STANDARD SCORE PROFILES ON FAMILY CLIMATE SCALES BY SOCIAL CLASS

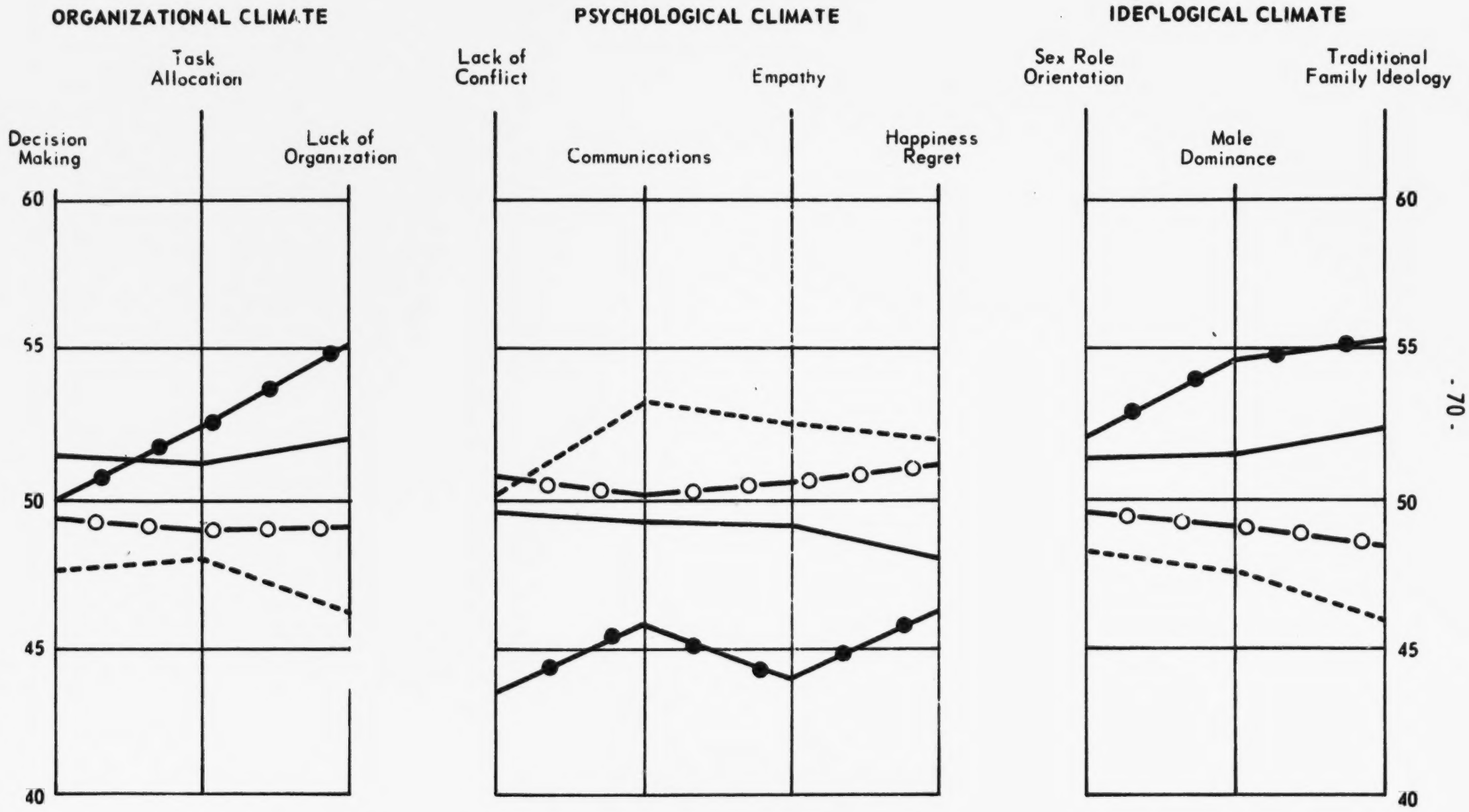


Fig. 2

MEAN STANDARD SCORE PROFILES ON FAMILY CLIMATE SCALES BY ETHNIC GROUP

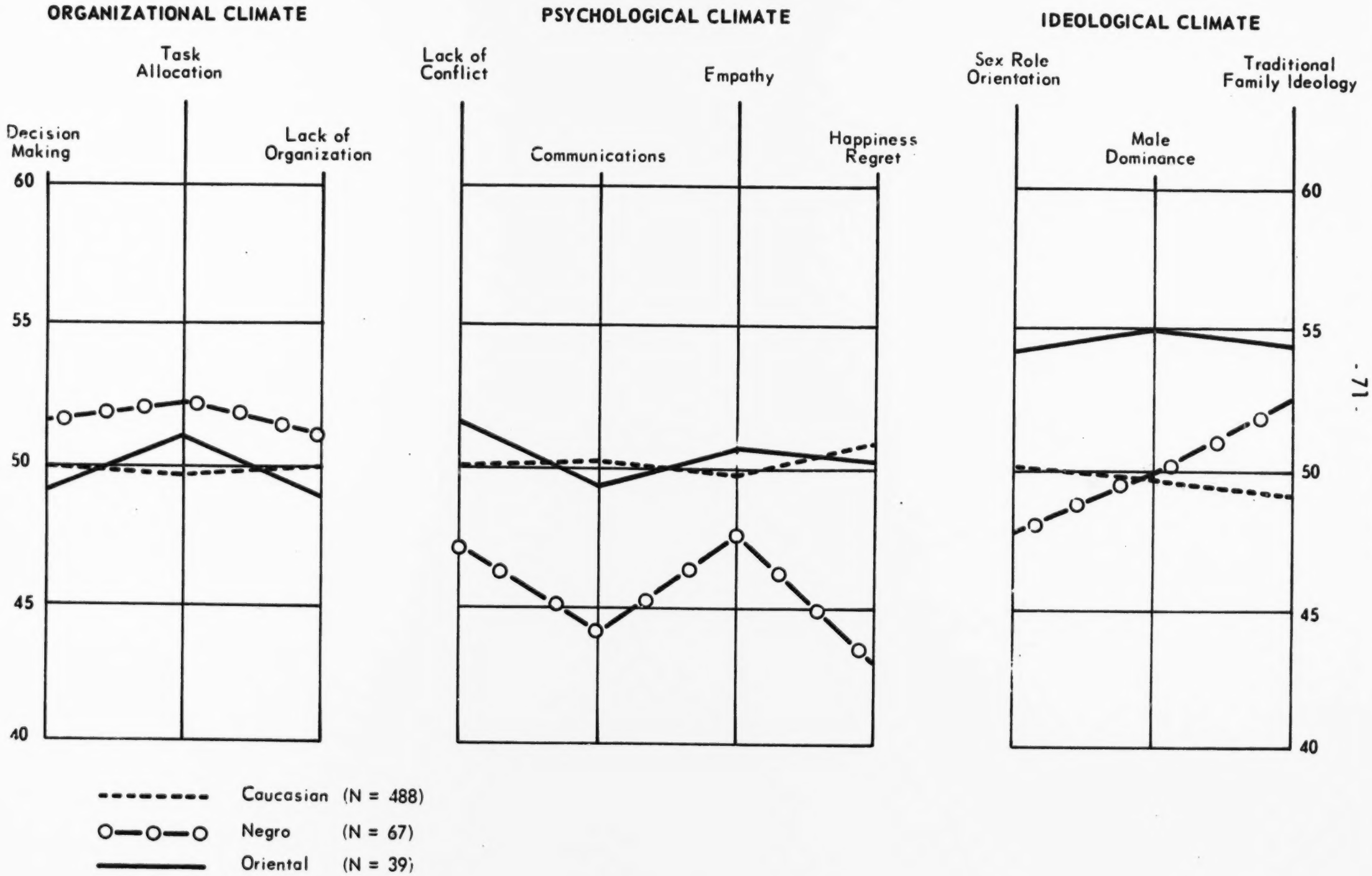
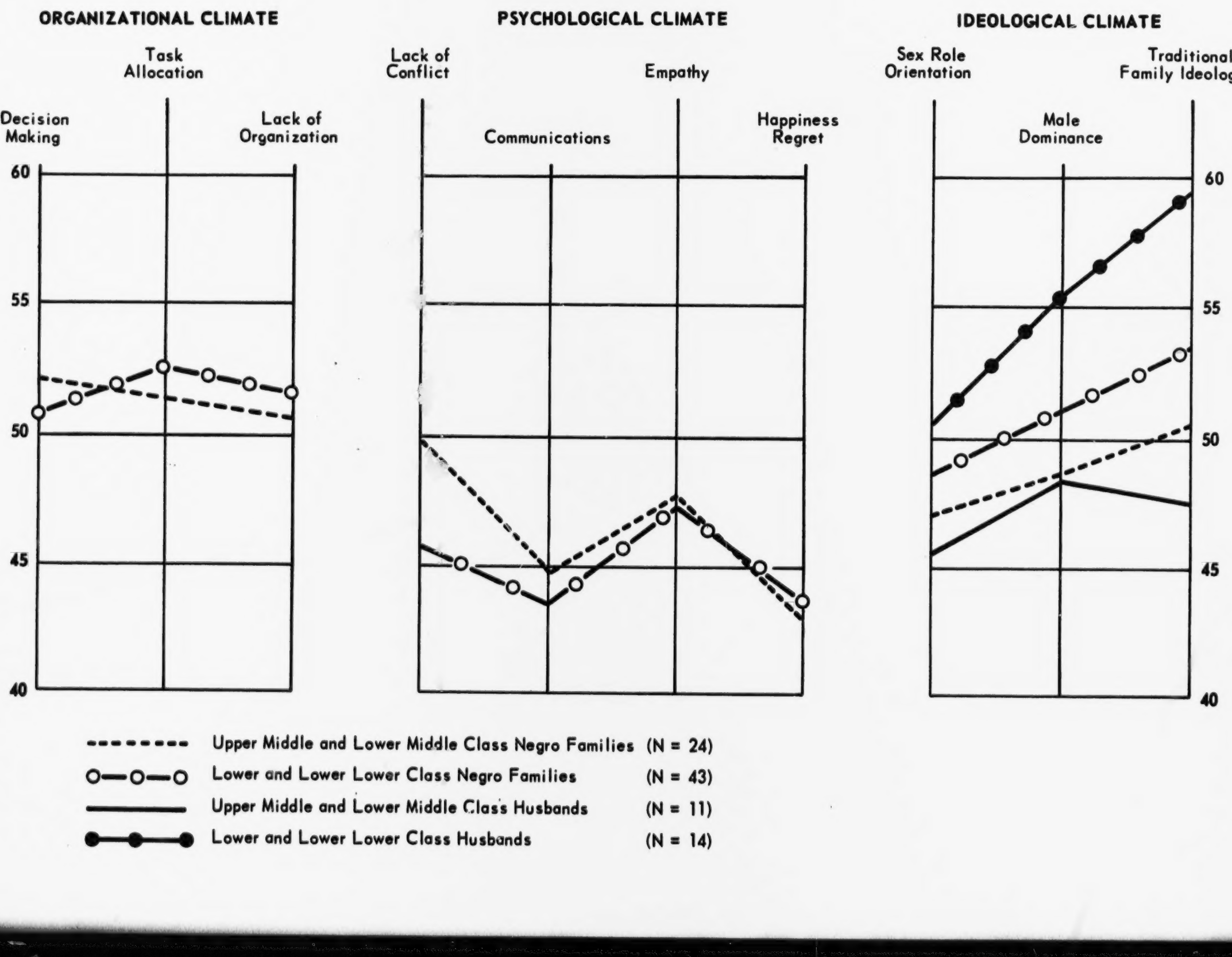


Fig. 3

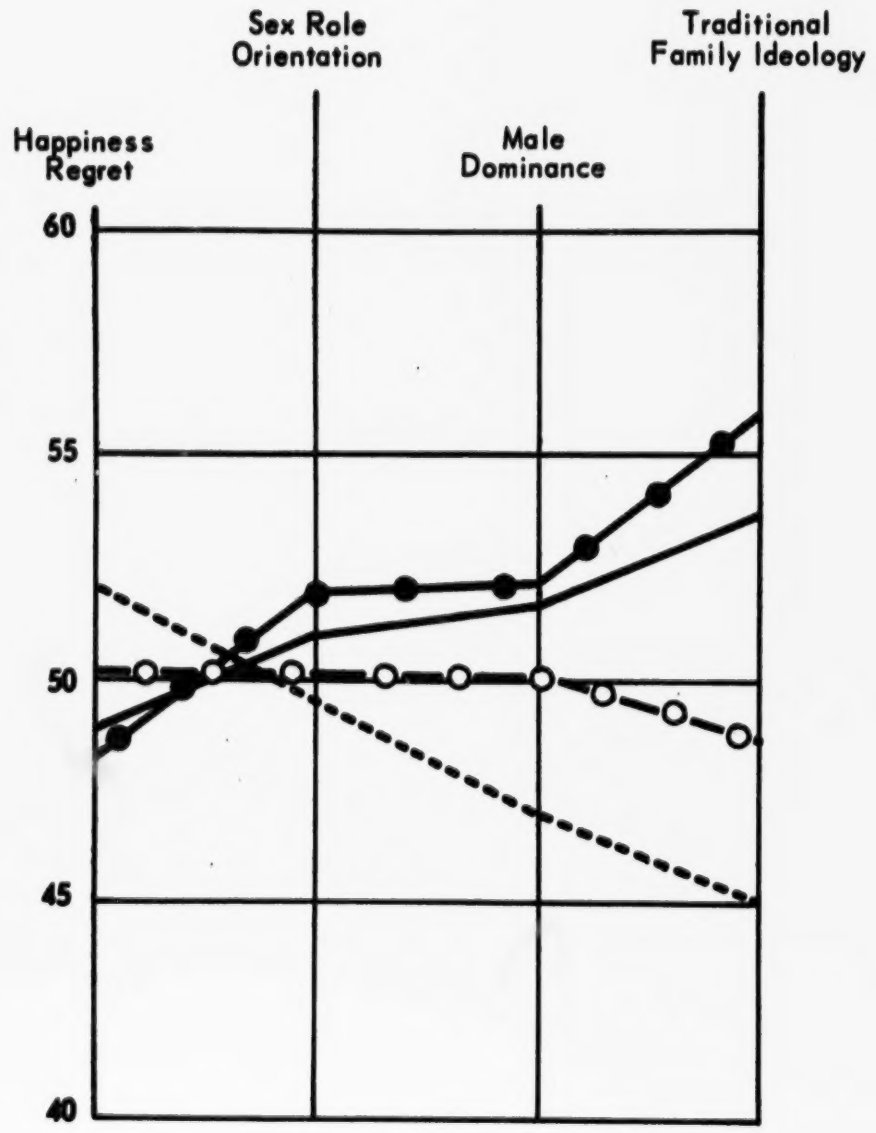
MEAN STANDARD SCORE PROFILES ON FAMILY CLIMATE SCALES FOR NEGRO FAMILIES STRATIFIED BY SOCIAL CLASS



MEAN STANDARD SCORE PROFILES OF HUSBAND'S HAPPINESS - REGRET AND IDEOLOGICAL FAMILY CLIMATE BY SOCIAL CLASS AND ETHNIC GROUP

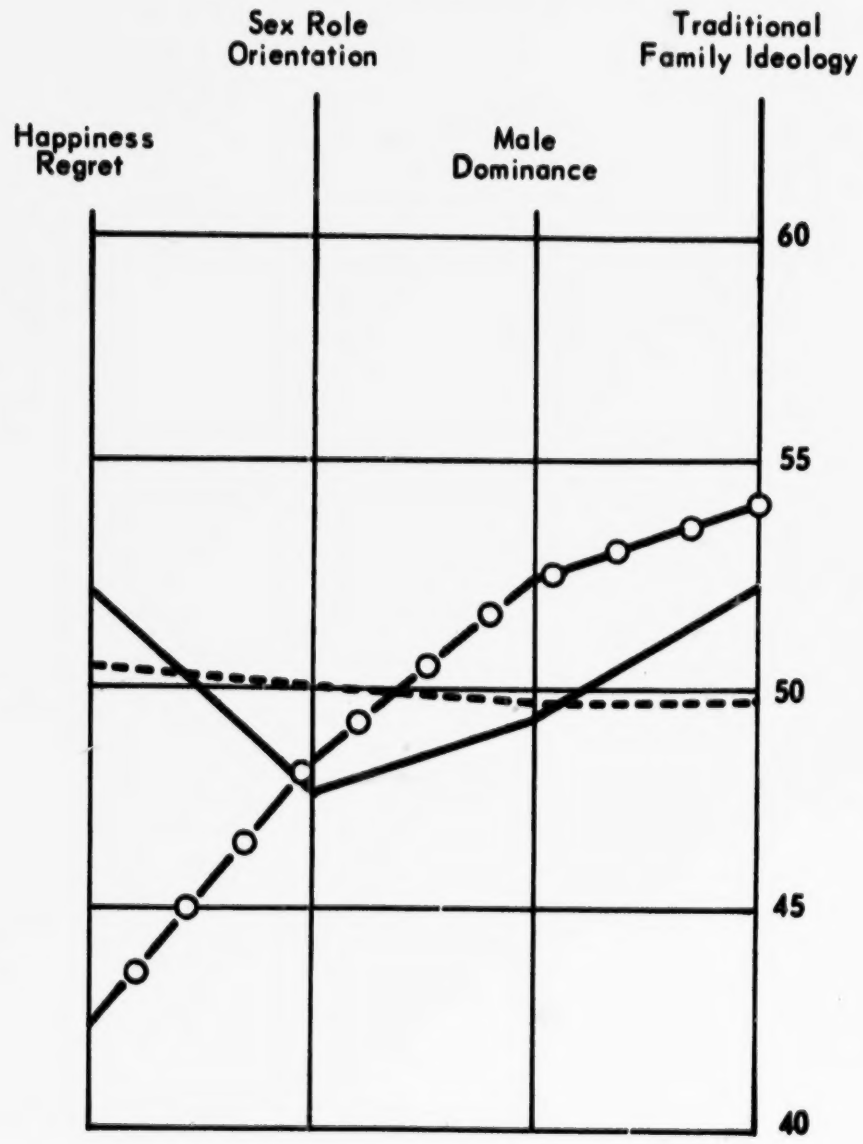
IDEOLOGICAL CLIMATE

HUSBANDS BY SOCIAL CLASS



Upper Middle Class Husbands (N = 74)
Lower Middle Class Husbands (N = 180)
Lower Class Husbands (N = 128)
Lower Lower Class Husbands (N = 9)

HUSBANDS BY ETHNIC GROUP



Caucasian Husbands (N = 342)
Negro Husbands (N = 25)
Oriental Husbands (N = 24)

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